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longer a strong incentive for the common people of the more favored European countries to migrate, and immigration from England, Ireland, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, etc., had fallen to small proportions. The immigration from the less fortunate countries of the south and south-east, on the other hand, was large and increasing. What the effects of the war will be it is as yet too early to determine with certainty. There is much evidence that a European immigration exceeding the maximum prewar figures is impending. If this is true, it means that although the war reduced the population of European nations, it also destroyed capital and organization to such an extent as to have actually made the man-land ratio less favorable.

With reference to Oriental immigration the acute problem is now concerned with the Japanese. There is no question that the restlessness of the

Japanese nation is due at bottom to the congestion of a prolific people upon a land of limited productive area. This is generally recognized, and it is frequently asserted that such a nation must have an outlet—"not the United States, of course, but Manchuria, Korea, or Siberia."

Such a statement brings up the crux of the whole immigration problem, not only with reference to the Japanese but also with reference to all other peoples. It may be briefly stated thus: Has a nation whose population is expanding beyond its own resources to such an extent as to threaten its standard of living a right to look for an outlet in some other land? Or has the time come to deny the right of a nation which is suffering stringency because of an unrestrained growth of population to seek relief by encroaching on the territory of a more fortunate or more self-controlled country?

Immigration and the Future

By FRANCES KELLOR¹
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AMONG the news columns of today one finds items like the following: "Twenty-five million people trying to come to America," "Congress asked to suspend immigration for two years," "Italian syndicate organized to promote immigration and to assist

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Italian immigrants in their enterprises in other countries; special schools organized to teach such emigrants to read and write and to trade, so the investments of the syndicate may yield a big return . . ."; "European radical labor chiefs plan to invade America . . ."; "Overseas corporation organized to bring in the families in Europe of immigrants in America at \$300 per family . . ."; "Riot in America between the Venizelosists and royalists over the Greek election . . ."; "Russian trial, in the style of modern justice in Revolutionary Russia, took place last week in New York when a comrade was tried for misappropriating relief funds

before the Comrades Judicial Tribunal. Three speeches were allowed for acquittal and three for conviction, and upon conviction the penalty imposed was publicity of the case and the restitution of property was ordered . . ."; "Commissioner-General of Immigration goes abroad to study conditions, and while he is on his way to Europe the Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York accuses the countries to which he is going of a plot to dump the radicals and criminals upon America."

What do these and similar items of national and international news denote? What is their significance in American life, and what do they portend in immigration affairs at a time when immigration is one of the most vital of questions which affect people of all nations?

They denote, first, a great confusion in American public opinion upon the subject of immigration, concerning the facts and fundamental questions involved, and concerning the new problems which the war has brought. They denote a divided public opinion with little clear leadership one way or the other. They denote, also, a lack of definition, an impatience with truth and a dislike of dispassionate analysis; characteristics of the public mind that must be dissipated if we are to deal wisely and justly with the immensely difficult and delicate immigration problems. Evidences are not wanting that informed minds and calm judgments will be needed to steer a safe passage through the immigration shoals, for between the temporary rush of people to this country to escape the post-war conditions in Europe and the intention of Americans to stop that rush to the United States, many treacherous spots intervene.

Among these treacherous spots in a judgment of immigration are the

use of the quantitative tests whether in the admission of immigrants or in their naturalization. To continue to use these artificial tests to gauge assimilation either by percentages or by the numbers naturalized is to permit the continuance of the superficial tests which obtained during the war, and which since then have been revealed in all their hopeless inadequacy. Furthermore, to gauge assimilation by the prosperity of immigrants is to give undue recognition to the crude tests which industry supplies. It is not so much a question as to whether one thousand or ten thousand immigrants come to the United States as it is where they come from, why they come, what they have in mind, what their nations expect of them and what amount of assimilative process they require. It is not so much a question as to whether there is work for one thousand or ten thousand immigrants as it is whether there is a business system which will provide for their reception, distribution and adjustment, and which will insure economic assimilation. It is not so much a question as to whether immigrants have equal opportunity with Americans as it is whether there is a feeling of racial recognition and reciprocity and a willingness to welcome the immigrant to participate in American affairs which will insure that finer assimilation which only the American spirit can define.

The importance of taking these into consideration is indicated by changes in the immigrant himself. However much the immigrant may look and act upon arrival as did his predecessor, the fact remains that he is a rather different person since the war, partly because of his own experience and partly by reason of the necessities of his home country. He is weary of fighting, of hunger and privation, and

wants with little effort a rest and prosperity. He is suffering from economic as well as from military shellshock, and pressure to increase his production at lower costs does not appeal to him. He is, in some cases, in sympathy with Bolshevik doctrines as he interprets them. These attitudes of mind might be dealt with easily if the immigrant who now comes to America were a wholly free agent, if he had burned all his bridges behind him and if he always looked forward instead of so often backward.

It now so happens that as a result of the war Europe and the United States both have different desires, while before the war the desires of both Europe and the United States were more nearly alike. The United States is now bent upon increasing production and lowering its cost, upon an open shop contest, and to further this it wants immigrant manpower. The United States needs consumers to take up the cheaper lines of goods to prevent waste, and thus lower the cost of living, and for this it relies upon new immigration. The United States needs immigrants with habits of thrift and frugality who will accumulate savings, and thus increase capital for new enterprises, and for this it needs immigrant wage-earners. In a word, if the incoming immigrant does not contribute some or all of these things, Americans do not want him because his coming will be a failure for himself and for this country.

Before the war, Europe, prosperous, powerful and sure of its future, was content to have millions of its emigrants go to America to help build a greater America, in the belief that when an emergency call came they would return home. The war revealed to European nations how great in men and resources and in ambition and power was this country which

they had helped to build. It also revealed to them the great difficulty of holding the allegiance of their own immigrants when once they had learned our language, had acquired new homes and citizenship, and had invested their savings in the United States.

Necessarily, then, Europe so sorely in need as it is today of money and markets, savings and leadership, and so insecure as to future peace, while it favors the emigration of its people to relieve the economic strain, however, is not greatly in sympathy with assimilation or Americanization of her emigrants in immigration countries. Rather is she bent upon a policy of race separation by which each country not only hopes, but will eventually plan, to keep its nationals united wherever they may be. This policy is contrary to that of the United States, where all immigrants are urged to become citizens.

The first step in the future immigration policy of Europe is to encourage all residents belonging to the minor nationalities in any given country to emigrate. This is best exemplified in the movement to expel Hungarians from Czecho-Slovakia and Jews from all European countries. This, in addition to economic pressure, explains the great rush toward the United States and to other immigration countries. The new immigrants are refugees, not only from the war, but also from the new European policy by which each country wishes to keep its racial strain pure. In case of future wars, each European nation will try to lessen the risk of disloyalty or treason from within, for each realizes that there may come a time when it may eventually stand alone, dependent wholly upon itself. This much the delay in the functioning of the League of Nations and subsequent events since the war have taught the nations

of Europe. They think now not so much in terms of peace as of future wars, and plan accordingly.

The second step by European nations in this policy of race separation, as opposed to the American policy of assimilation, is the recall of nationals which began soon after the war had ended. This recall has two objects in view: first, to obtain information at first hand concerning the immigration country, its resources and opportunities, and to benefit by the immigrant's knowledge and savings; second, to infuse him with a new sense of nationalism and devotion, in order to further the fiscal and industrial plans of his native country.

The third step in this policy is the encouragement of emigration and its control after arrival in the new country. The federal official, who in a recent speech charged European governments with a plan to dump their criminals and radicals on the United States, was but voicing a worn-out American interpretation upon the present immigration movement which has an object far more astute, far more far-reaching than is yet apparent on the surface. It is not to the advantage of European countries in need of money, man-power, material and markets to spoil the large field of revenue and power which they see in immigration countries by the adoption of any such short-sighted plan. They are planning a far more statesmanlike handling of the situation which includes the future as well as the present.

Foreign nations mean to control the interests of these immigrants in new countries in the following ways: 1. They mean to protect them and win their gratitude. With this end in view, Holland has suggested calling a conference of European states to consider uniform plans for the protection of emigrants to be applied in

countries of immigration. Many countries have already enlarged the powers of their consulates in the United States to protect their immigrants; and they are supporting societies and homes and movements to look after their nationals. They are encouraging them to apply to their consulates for advice and assistance. In this work they have able support from a considerable part of the foreign language press in this country. Some countries have gone so far as to suspend emigration to countries which do not protect immigrants and which do not provide them with good opportunities; and, on the other hand, to facilitate emigration to those countries which offer such protection and opportunities. 2. They mean to control the interests of their immigrants by obviously advancing their economic interests, by securing in advance concessions of free land, farm equipment, commercial opportunities and investments. 3. They mean to exercise this control through education, by means of the establishment of schools, and by supporting the foreign language press through advertising, and by fostering the establishment of cultural societies; all for the purpose of perpetuating the language, ideals, culture and interests of the native land of the immigrants. They mean to promote such control through commercial organizations and to use intelligently their nationals in trading companies to advance the sale of goods in the United States and to help them to secure new markets. To this end many such companies have already been established, and commercial magazines in foreign languages are fast making their appearance as trade propagandist magazines. They mean also to keep in touch with their nationals by social events, and so far as the United States is concerned, it will

increasingly see distinguished members of these races visiting their nationals here as guests of honor for the purpose of keeping home ties closer. They mean, at least, to consider the advisability of giving their nationals abroad representation in the home country. Thus we may see presently the racial societies in this country selecting such representatives to attend conventions and sittings in the native country.

To accomplish all this, foreign nations will, therefore, favor the establishment of immigrant banks, and of branch banks in immigration countries where the native language is spoken, thus to stimulate the transmission of money home and of investments in the homeland. They believe that if the pocket-book of the immigrant can be safely tied to the homeland all will be well.

Should the carrying out of these plans be less successful in some immigration countries than in others, European nations will then divert their emigrants to the more favorable countries. On the other hand, if it pays better they will keep them at home, or they will work out plans for the exchange of immigrants on the basis of temporary labor on some such arrangement as now exists between Italy and France whereby the former, having a surplus of men, lends them to France in exchange for coal and according to specified agreement as to their wages and living conditions. In the new epoch we shall see more rather than less of this commercial negotiation in which men are the pawns of nations.

What effect will this have upon the economic values of the immigrant to the United States? The present immigrant is not eager to do the kind of work which America most needs to have done. This changed attitude on his part may be due to several reasons.

If he is a reservist, who has fought in the war, he tells us that he expects something better from America than the rough work he did before the war. If he has been through great hardships in the war, he says that he is not looking for an immediate job, but for an opportunity to escape from the results of the war in his home country. In any case, when he arrives in America he tells us that he does not intend to do hard manual labor. This changed attitude of the immigrant toward manual labor, considered in terms of production, compares unfavorably in capacity, adaptability, skill and willingness with that of the immigrant who is returning to Europe. A balance to our credit in numbers may thus more than be offset by differences in capacity and willingness to work.

The employer, therefore, is making discoveries which are disturbing. In the near future he may not only have to employ two immigrants from the the incoming class to do the work of one of the class before the war; and he may not only have to pay them at very nearly the same rate as the earlier immigrant received, but he may also have to deal with a new kind of workman who brings with him the Bolshevik theory of "working slowly on the job." Moreover, the employer finds that the new immigrant is more restless and more eager to get something for nothing than was his predecessor, which, of course, adds to the employer's increasing cost of production.

Few business men realize to what an extent the war has accentuated the internationalism of the immigrant. Today, the smallest employer or banker in the most remote American industrial village is now called upon to deal with questions which have their origin in circumstances quite beyond his conception, and with forces which

have been in existence for centuries, and which now are operating through thousands of miles to reach him. He is, in most instances, quite unaware that the immigrant is a different unit of power from the native-born workman. The immigrant has traditions, customs, habits of thought and centuries of inheritance which the employer generally knows little about, and because of this ignorance may offend him, thus unwittingly causing a lasting resentment. The immigrant workman is the subject of solicitation from forces across the sea that the average employer hardly more than suspects—be they the propagandist from Russia, the appeals from his family in Europe or the importunities of his native government. He has worries and responsibilities, the extent and seriousness of which the employer can not possibly imagine, especially when he has his own mind fully occupied with questions of wages, housing and production. When the immigrant workman goes home, it is not to a consideration of affairs which the American readily understands, but it is more often to read his foreign language papers or to talk with his friends about conditions in the native land and what he can do to help change them.

Then, too, business will have to bear the cost of immigration turnover which is so evidently imminent, because the intention of foreign countries to hold their immigrants, the improved facilities for transportation which will facilitate their return, the negotiations between countries which will tend to uproot men settled in one country to embrace what seem to be better opportunities in another, all of these will increase immigration turnover.

Many aliens who had been regarded by American employers as "settled" have become imbued with a spirit of nationalism that has created a desire

to return to the homeland. Few American plants have kept the records of labor turnover by races, but as an illustration, it was found in one plant, where such records were kept, that the turnover among native-born employes was 66.8 per cent, while among those of foreign birth it was 104 per cent; that among the foreign-born employes, who were *naturalized*, the turnover was 82 per cent, while among those who were still *aliens* it was 110.9 per cent. As it costs this particular plant about fifty dollars per head for hiring and training each new worker, a further analysis of the labor turnover indicated that the cost per unit of increase was \$163.41 for native born; \$194.17 for naturalized foreign born; and \$523.36 for the unnaturalized foreign born. Incidentally, these discoveries illustrate a practical value to industry of separating on all cost sheets native and foreign-born workmen, a plan which so far few employers have adopted. The total cost of immigration turnover to American industry can not be as yet estimated.

Who can estimate, for instance, the cost to American industry of training aliens up to a point of efficiency in production and organization methods, and then have them return as competitors to Europe? Who can estimate what it will cost American industry, which receives the inexperienced peasant from Europe, undernourished by the war, to convert him into a well-conditioned, experienced workman; and then return him to Europe to produce goods in competition with American products? Who can foresee what it will cost American business to receive a million immigrants a year, teach them American methods, American technical skill, American ideals, the English language; and then have half of them, or more, return to their native land in an unfriendly and

unsympathetic attitude towards American business and towards the country, and with the bulk of their savings from American wages in their pockets?

There are some who believe that American business is under obligation to make such a post-war contribution to Europe. Granting this, would it not be well for the American business man to know, not only that this is a contribution to Europe, but also what it costs? Then, if he continues to so contribute, it would be because he was willing to do so and in full confidence that he was doing it in a businesslike manner. Only by complete knowledge, and by the adoption of business principles in all of our immigration undertakings, will the avoidance of resentment in our future commercial relations with foreign nations be made possible.

In this new age when immigrant man-power is such a vital commercial asset, what will become of the individual immigrant, the adventurer, the pioneer, the bird of passage, who sought a fortune or freedom from persecution? In the future he will leave his home with a heavier yoke of nationalism upon him, but it will be a yoke whose pressure will be gentle because of his willingness to bear it. The emigrant will leave, as he believes, to better his own condition, but his nation will understand that it is to relieve the economic strain. He will leave, as he believes, to join friends and relatives; but his nation will understand that it is for its own best interests. He will go, as he believes, for his own adventure and success; but his nation will understand that he goes for the glory of the homeland. It will, therefore, admonish him not to abjure his allegiance, but to report opportunities for investment, and to find locations for foreign capital in the new country. It will urge him to

do everything in his power to advance abroad the interests of his native land. It will connect him with a racial organization, so he may keep aloof from, rather than join in, the affairs of the new nation.

The success of the various plans of European countries to use their nationals to advance their own interests depends upon the maintenance of economic solidarities in this country. If the immigrant shop, bank, employment agency, newspaper and trading company can be kept functioning together as one economic unit to help the consulate, if the activities of these institutions can all be headed up in a few responsible leaders in each group, if, in a word, racial economic solidarity and racial systems are maintained, then greater will be the profits to the native country. If the racial society, foreign language newspaper, protective associations and relief associations can be kept functioning together as one social unit to promote the political interests of the various countries, then the greater will be the advancement of that country.

As a result of the success already attained in these fields, largely through our own shortsighted policy, there exists in the United States today, two economic systems; one for the immigrants under foreign-born leadership, and the other for the Americanized immigrant and native born under native-born leadership. Side by side they compete with each other. Each system has its own employment agencies; the one, where English is spoken; the other, where it is not. Each has its own way of handling laborers; the one, through the *padrone* who houses and feeds the workmen; the other, through boarding-houses which are run on American standards. Each has its own shops; the one, where imported articles from Europe predom-

inate; the other, where American products come first. Each system has its own banks; the one, where the savings are transmitted to Europe and where foreign investments are encouraged; the other where savings become American deposits and purchase American securities. Each has its own societies and press; the one, which preserves the traditions, culture, and habits of the race; the other, which furthers the traditions of the United States. Each has its own trade relations with native countries; the one, which favors the interests of the foreign country and of the race; the other, which favors American trade interests only.

These racial agencies are as perfectly linked together in an economic system as are the parallel American agencies. Though they are far less powerful and resourceful than are the American agencies, yet, among their own people, they possess a greater potential power to influence their economic affairs. Identity of racial interest has in this way bound together the members of each race as no American interest has ever done.

This mobilization by racial organizations of racial resources in the United States has amazed the old world by its cohesiveness and by its wealth, power and masterful efficiency. The immigrant is met at Ellis Island by a racial missionary who speaks his language, and who, having the advantage of knowing his friends at home, at once establishes cordial relations. The immigrant is lodged in a hotel where the atmosphere reminds him of his native country. Thus, the impressions which he receives concerning the United States come to him first through old world memories and experiences. He is next introduced to a "padrone" who secures work for him.

If this will be, in part, the economic

effect of the future policy of European nations upon the immigrant, what will then be the political effect? Shall we have in addition to a dual economic system a dual political system? Shall the troubles of Europe be settled in America? Shall each racial group organize and assist in the direction of the affairs of its native country? This question has been brought to the fore by the war which has stimulated nationalism among all races and thus strengthened solidarities in many. It is but natural, then, to inquire if the immigrants who have given so much in order that their native countries will be free and independent, will not come to the United States prepared to use their utmost effort to see that in the future the results for which they fought so heroically are assured. When the return of King Constantine to the throne is a more burning question to Greeks in America than is the election of a President of the United States, and when this discussion is at its height at the same time that an American election is in progress, grave doubts necessarily must be raised in the minds of Americans regarding assimilation. When Albanians in America, many of whom have come to stay, are more divided into factions over conditions in the home country than they are united on their future here, such doubts are strengthened. An inventory of racial solidarities, their aims and activities, would help very much to set our doubts at rest, and to stimulate us to greater and more intelligent activity upon assimilation. Many inquirers can not see how America is to be kept free of international entanglements if a large section of its population, through its own subterranean channels, is assuming the direction of affairs in Europe. They foresee the time when there will be a division of opinion upon the

attitude to be taken by the country as a whole.

But there are many others who see an infringement upon American liberty in the limitations of the powers of such organizations. To them, the discussion of international affairs by foreign language groups, with intent to circulate propaganda in favor of one party or the other in the home country, is a lesser evil compared to the greater danger of restricting the freedom of expression in America. They, therefore, see little harm in meetings which are called to denounce foreign governments regardless of whether these governments are free or oppressive, or whether they are monarchies or democracies. They see no harm in permitting publications in foreign languages to be published in America which take a stronger position on foreign political events than they do upon American political events. They believe that organizations should be free to raise money for any purpose which they see fit, to be used abroad; that they should forward resolutions expressing their opinion on the affairs of their native country; that they should send delegates, if need be, to deliberate in assemblies abroad which are dealing with native country affairs.

Upon a subject of such vital importance no general public opinion has as yet been formed. Both those who emphasize and those who minimize the dangers realize that before official action is taken a thorough-going analysis should be made of this new political situation, with a view to informing the country and receiving the benefit of its mature judgment. Obviously, the post-war immigration conditions, involving as they do the plans and intentions of emigration countries and the preparation by countries of immigration for the entry

and reception of the immigrants, or their exclusion, create a situation which legislation can not remedy, which restriction will not prevent, and which suppression can not cure.

The racial economic system has no fixed intention of being inimical to the interests of America. As it has grown up as the result of isolation and neglect by the American business man, it can become incorporated into the American economic system only through his change of attitude. For the moment, quite our own fault, this identity of economic interest, in many instances, is stronger between the foreign born and the home country than it is between him and the United States, and sometimes stronger between races in America than between races and native born. If assimilation is to succeed we have to apply to the conquest of this system a high degree of business intelligence.

The American bank has to sell itself to the immigrant in competition with the racial bank if the immigrant's savings are to be used to build up American business and capital instead of building up foreign business and capital. The American employer has to provide conditions of work, standards of management, rates of compensation and standards of hours, not merely for altruistic motives, but to meet the competition of countries like Argentina, Australia, Canada, and later Russia, and also to meet like competition in the native countries of the immigrants. Failing in this, he may later also fail to obtain immigrant man-power.

The American merchant has to take the American standard of living to the immigrant and induce him to like it, not merely to protect the workingman, nor for any other altruistic reason, but to follow its own law and create a market for American goods; otherwise,

the immigrant's own countrymen may take the market away from him in spite of the tariff or any other legislative protection, or they may use the skill and experience gained in the United States to establish trading companies, the main profits of which will not go to American business. The publisher, the material vendor of American ideals and ideas, must too sell his product to the immigrant not merely for patriotic reasons, but because it pays. And, finally, the English language press has to sell American opinion and points of view to the immigrant in competition with racial and international opinion and points of view, not merely for patriotic motives, but because the American news market is the one most closely identified with American business success.

In dealing with these facts we must guard against playing into the hands of our foreign competitors—whether for markets or for man-power. Resentment, repressive legislation, discriminations, arbitrary closing of the gates causing needless suffering to families will but increase bitterness toward the United States. Shutting out immigration will not eliminate propaganda, even though this action may stop propagandists in person.

This is not the answer. It is the systematic integration of the immigrant into American economic life, beginning with his arrival; it is the enactment of immigration treaties, based upon a study of the various countries, through which can be determined the aptitude for assimilability of various races, and the cost and time it will require, since obviously, as some races will require more time than will others to be adjusted into American life, some such preliminary is necessary. More and more, as our science of racial relations develops, will our studies and analysis turn to the source

of immigration. It may well be that we shall need some legislative safeguards to protect American interests because the tide of immigration has caught this country unprepared to receive its immigrants properly, to distribute them evenly, to protect them from exploitation, to provide facilities for learning English or to connect them with Americans immediately upon their arrival. Then, too, this country has not authentic information regarding racial activities, principles and means of assimilation which will enable it to provide at once such a system. It is child's play to bring together educators and social workers to discuss immigration compared to the task of bringing together racial and native American bankers to unite their efforts in practical banking to further the protection and investment of immigrants' savings in this country; to the task of bringing together native American and racial merchants and dealers in the interests of American trade; to bring together native and foreign language press editors in an effort to unite racial opinion with American public opinion; and to unite native and foreign-born workmen in the same plant, free from racial animosities and bitter activities against each other.

Neither is it easy to have fire insurance companies see that their best Americanization work is to teach the American standard of living as a means to lessen fire hazards; to have credit men see that the soundest Americanization is to extend credit to the foreign born and to have American capital invested in racial business; to have life insurance companies see that their Americanization contribution is to compete with racial societies that are in effect insurance organizations; and to have each industrial plant see that its work begins at home by including

immigrant workmen in management plans, and by making those plans intelligible to them.

When we have obtained such economic cohesion between native and foreign born at home we may then present a united effort in our conquest of foreign markets, in the expansion of our financial transactions, and in the full discussion of international affairs to which we must eventually be a party, but from much of the knowledge of which we are at the present time isolated.

Neither will this country achieve economic assimilation by multiplying organizations, by extending mechanical agencies, or by creating formal facilities like classes in public schools, unless there is a genuine fusion of economic interests. Each race as well as the native American must by study and by association together arrive at a recognition and just appraisal of each other's qualities and capabilities. Each race as well as the native American must arrive at a full reciproc-

ity which will permit of the initial exchange of ideas and ideals, by association together in work and business. Each race as well as the native American must arrive at that point of participation in American affairs which makes this greater than participation in any other affairs—in this way the identity of interest of all people in America becomes permanent and broad and therefore sound.

In casting about for the leadership which this complicated racial, business and governmental situation requires, the Immigration Committee of the Senate of the United States under the distinguished leadership of its Chairman, himself a student of immigration affairs, seems to possess the requisite power to assemble the data in this country and abroad and to make such an analysis as is required for calm deliberation, as well as the capacity to formulate for submission to the country a sound policy which will recognize the international difficulties while safeguarding American interests.

The New Flood Tide of Immigration A Policy and a Program

By The National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation,
Henry W. Jessup, J.D., Chairman

THE COMING IMMIGRATION

IMMIGRATION from Europe has already returned to its prewar volume, so far as its numbers are concerned. Available indications promise a flood in the coming few years vastly larger than any that has ever come in the past. Honorable Frederick A. Wallis, Commissioner of Immigration for the port of New York, estimates that "four to five million Italians are waiting a chance to come. Sixteen steamship companies have stated that they could book at once enough immigrants to fill their space

for ten years to come." Surgeon-General Cummings stated in October, 1920, on his return from south Russia, that seven millions were making plans to come to America. Tens of thousands have already left their homes in Italy and central Europe and are now stranded in various ports, big cities and border lands, waiting for transportation.

AMERICA'S IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

This new flood tide constitutes a fresh problem for America to solve. Can she wisely admit all who knock at